2t Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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[Class C Families]

Patão, however, regales the daily gossip groups with his exploits, detail by detail, so it is always known who has visited him. These men are in no way ostracized, and continue a normal life alongside the others. There are also two cases of men connected with candomblé who are suspected of homosexual tendencies, but there are no definite data about them. Public opinion, nevertheless, is generally against homosexuality, and there was one case in which action was taken. A married man "pegou um menino" (caught a little boy) in the men's bath at one of the wells. Ordinarily the men enter the bath alone, the others waiting outside until the one inside has finished. On this occasion the man found the boy already there and entered with him. Later the boy told what had happened and the neighborhood was incensed and compelled the man to leave town at least temporarily. The boy's only remark was that he had not been paid!

Boys in their late teens sometimes jokingly refer to the clube de veados (homosexuals' club), intimating their exploratory experiences with one another, and what they have tried when they went together to Salvador or Centro, where, according to them, the streets are full of veados. No such reports were found for the rural people, but the complaint that young men were viciados nas mulas (corrupted by the use of mules) was common. Another case at a distant factory concerned two women who were living together, one very strong, large and bearded, and very jealous of anyone who even looked at the other. This case was well known, and considered hilarious by the neighbors.

Family life in Class C is characterized by a lack of privacy. The house of a family in this class has at the most two bedrooms, frequently only one, in which all members must sleep. It is common for a young couple to have only one bed when their marriage begins, in which they, as well as their first and second children, sleep. The use of a cradle for infants is rare. The baby usually sleeps with the parents, and as it grows older, or as new babies are born, it is relegated to the foot of the bed. Loud and bitter are the complaints about children who wet the bed, which many of them do for many years. Most mothers say they try to wake up several times during the night in order to hold the infant over the side of the bed to allow it to perform its natural functions, which makes life more pleasant for the others in the bed. In the morning the floor is thoroughly washed.

During the day young boys go about with only shorts on, or

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child 551
is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames 551
such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, 608
at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper [565]
class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the god- 608
mother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the hus- 835
band, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where [626]
this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case [762]
which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to 593
be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who 369
dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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plex and need further study. If the discrimination turns out to be due only (or largely) to color, it will in most cases be because color is one of the criteria of rank. However, nowhere in Brazil is it supported by public opinion. On the contrary, it receives severe and widespread condemnation, in press and elsewhere, and legislators hasten to pass laws bringing it under repressive legal sanction. In other words, public opinion and public action invariably are *in favor of*—never against—the darker portion of the population.

7. Nevertheless, in any conflict situation, the lack of one of the determinants of status—namely, light color—*just as any other lack*, may be seized upon, to a person's disadvantage, by competitors.

8. Numerous common sayings regarding Africans and their descendants (cf. pp. 362–65 of this book) which originated during the slave epoch, and which long ago lost all, or most, of their function as stereotypes (cf. Florestan Fernandes 1959:328), occasionally are employed by brancos but ordinarily with a smile and in a humorous manner and when colored persons are not present. Moreover, actual behavior tends to belie these common sayings; and they are even used in jocular fashion by colored persons themselves. Nevertheless, they are remnants of a superordinate-subordinate relationship in a former caste order and, as such, constitute threats to status in possible conflict situations, and also potential aids to the development of group-consciousness.

To these hypotheses, there might be added the following one, suggested by Wagley (1963b:154):

9. "The ability of 'people of color' to improve their status . . . varies considerably from community to community according to the possibilities open to them."

Wagley's further statement that "rural Brazilian society

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

[656] [626] Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 [595] From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-[829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-[167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It [175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, mar- 17 *563 567 riage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe 175 *563 626 social sanctions (1),

1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the [113] society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279.

000 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

175 178 *563 553

/40 cont./ These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, op. cit., III, p. 951.

178 *563 • 626 584 593

Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have decreased with time, and so the latter became more numerous every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 557

The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" moreno suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

/43 cont./

*563 829 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women. This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although [565 626] marriages between mulattoes and morenos are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are very /44/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit.

*563 565 554 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The *563 [626] marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition in all milieus, although the opinions about the morena with fine features and the color of jambo make this type desirable for certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and some- *563 59 what for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

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627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability . . . . . 67 Offenses and punishments 68

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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outcome of some projected action; and also the office of a *curandeiro*, who diagnoses ailments and prescribes cures. He may minister to a clientele even outside the members of the *seita*, giving advice and counsel on matters of business, politics, love, etc.

Disputes between members of the *seita* are ordinarily submitted for adjudication to the *pae* or *mãe de santo*. Persuasion is at first employed. But if this proves unsuccessful, the priest orders each of the disputants to wash his particular fetish, upon which, with rare exceptions, acceptance of mediation is secured. The settling of the dispute is then celebrated by each party to the quarrel drinking from the water in which the other's fetish has been washed. Continuance of the altercation will break the implied promise to the *orixá* and render the offender liable to punishment, which is ordinarily death.

The *pae* or *mãe de santo* may also exercise the function of a *feiticeiro* and deal in black magic. But this occupation is disclaimed by several of the more prominent priests and priestesses, who refuse to countenance deeds designed to do harm to their fellow-men. It appears to be exercised more often by heads of the recently organized and "less careful" *caboclo seitas*.[7]

Age, number of years a member of the cult, intimate knowledge of the ritual, and, particularly, purity of African descent are important considerations in determining the prestige of a *pae* or *mãe de santo*.

For some reason male members of the *seita* rarely experi-

[7] A *pae de santo* of a *caboclo candomblé* who is widely feared for his success in working black magic possesses a considerable bank account, numerous properties in the city, and rich cocoa land near Ilhéos, all acquired, it is said, from the exercise of this profession. However, it is quite probable that his political activity contributed a goodly portion.

631

631 TERRITORIAL HIERARCHY--territorial structure of the state; the various levels of territorial and administrative organization within the state and their reconciliation with the categories below; hierarchy of political officials; integration with larger political units (e.g., Ukraine within the USSR); general nature of the territorial hierarchy (e.g., feudal, administrative, federal); degree of local differentiation in structural forms (e.g., federal districts, free cities, territories, colonies); etc. See also:

Identification of the cultural group in relation to culture areas and neighboring societies. 101

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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000Footnotes - Chapter I

[1]See section by Charles Wagley in Ralph Linton (ed.), Most of The World (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 226.

[2]Henry William Spiegel, The Brazilian Economy (Philadelphia: The Blakiston Company, 1949), pp. 157-168.

[3]See section by Preston E. James in Simon Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler (eds.), Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1955), pp. 78-102.

[4]J. F. Normano, Brazil. A Study of Economic Types (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), p. 75.

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[5]The município is the approximate Brazilian equivalent of the county in the United States. The município has two elements: (1) the sede (seat) which is the administrative center and is called a cidade regardless of its size; and (2) the rest of the município, which in the Recôncavo is almost invariably rural. The município usually is subdivided into distritos (districts), each with a seat which, regardless of size, is called a villa. Neither the cidade nor the villa is a corporate entity separate from the município or district; i.e., there is no urban organization per se. In the Recôncavo the cidades are either small cities, towns, or villages, while the villas are villages or hamlets. There is a tremendous range in the area of the various municípios, which may be extremely large where settlement is scattered and small where settlement is dense. In the Recôncavo the largest município has just over 2,000 sq. km., and the smallest has just over 100 sq. km. The município is the primary statistical unit used in this research, although district data have been used on the few occasions where they were available. For a list of the 21 municípios included in the Recôncavo as defined here, see Appendix A.

[6]Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Cana de Açúcar no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 113 (March-April, 1953), pp. 171-173. Ariadne Soares Souto Mayor, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Fumo na Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 87-90. Ruth Matos Almeida Simões, "Comentário do Mapa da Produção de Mandioca no Estado da Bahia," Boletim Geográfico, Vol. XI, No. 112 (January-February, 1953), pp. 84-86.

[7]Such as: Gilberto Freyre, Nordeste (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Livrária Editora, 1937), 267 pp. Luis Amaral, Historia Geral da Agricultura Brasileira (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1939-40), 3 Vols. Charles Wagley (ed.), Race and Class in Rural Brasil (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1952), 160 pp.

[8]Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, Recenseamento Geral do Brasil: 1940. Censos Econômicos, Regional Series, Part XII-Bahia, Vol. II (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

[9]Ministério da Agricultura, Serviço de Estatística da Produção, Produção Agrícola: 1948 (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1950).

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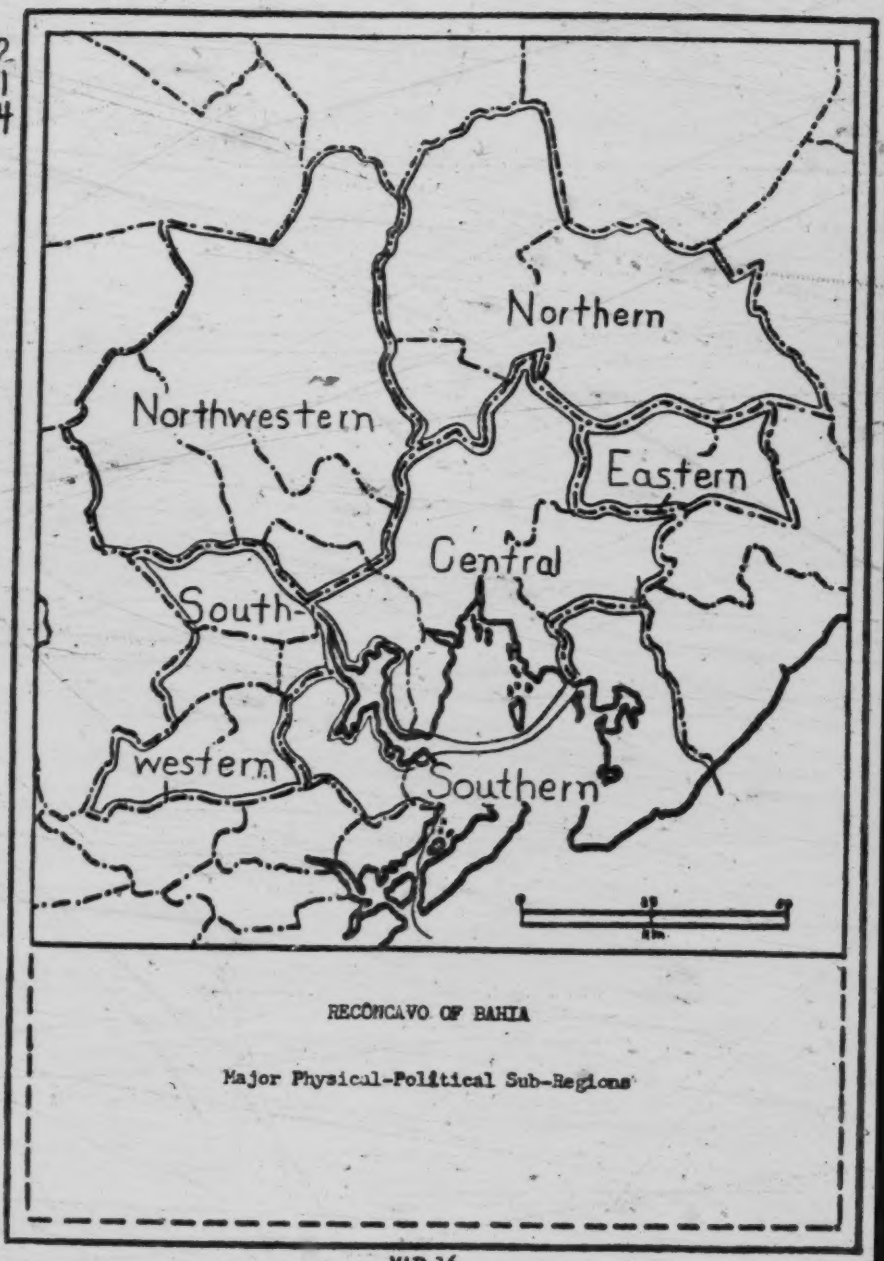

RECÔNCAVO OF BAHIA

Major Physical-Political Sub-Regions

MAP 16